

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 306536

NODIS

CHEROKEE EYES ONLY FOR DR BRZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING REPEAT ANKARA 9312 ACTION SECSTATE 23 DEC 77

QUOTE

S E C R E T ANKARA 9312

NODIS CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PGOV, CY, TU

SUBJ: MOVEMENT ON CYPRUS ISSUE

REF: A) STATE 305168, B) STATE 305835 C) STATE 305000 (REPEAT OF
NICOSIA 3316)

1. REFTELS A AND B BOTH MAKE POINT THAT WE SHOULD BE SEEKING
FROM MFA OFFICIALS FURTHER REFINEMENTS OR ELABORATION OF
TURKISH THINKING ON CYPRUS CONSTITUTION AS WELL AS THEIR
PLANS FOR GESTURES SUCH AS TROOP WITHDRAWALS, HOTELS IN
VAROSHA, ETC. WE WILL DO SO, OF COURSE, SO THAT TURKS WILL
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SEE THAT WE ARE FOLLOWING UP AND SO THAT MOMENTUM NOW BEGUN
DOES NOT FLAG. THERE SHOULD NOT BE A PROBLEM IN OBTAINING
INFORMATION ABOUT MODEST STEPS SUCH AS TROOP WITHDRAWALS,
BUT I SHOULD POINT OUT THAT IT IS UNLIKELY THAT WE WILL EVER
OBTAIN SUFFICIENT CONCRETE ADVANCE INFORMATION ON THE
VITAL ISSUES OF CONSTITUTION AND TERRITORY TO MAKE YOU FEEL
COMPLETELY COMFORTABLE IN TAKING THE DCA TO THE CONGRESS. THE TURKS

SEE THESE TWO ISSUES AS ONES THAT WILL BE RESOLVED IN THE CRUCIBLE OF NEGOTIATION. I BELIEVE, ALTHOUGH I CANNOT PROVE, THAT IN THE CASE OF TERRITORY, THEY WILL BE AS CAGLAYANGIL HAS SAID, "GENEROUS." VAROSHA WILL BE DIFFICULT, AND THERE WILL BE PROBLEMS NOT ONLY BETWEEN GREEK-CYPRIOTS AND TURKISH-CYPRIOTS, BUT ALSO INTERNALLY ON BOTH SIDES CONCERNING PRECISELY WHERE FINAL LINE IS DRAW. IN THE END, HOWEVER, I DO NOT SEE "TERRITORY" AS DIFFICULT AS "CONSTITUTION."

2. HERE IN ANKARA WE SEE THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS MADE BY THE TURKS IN BRUSSELS AS A NEGOTIATING BEGINNING. WE DO NOT KNOW HOW FAR THEY WILL GO AND IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THEY WILL COMPLETELY REVEAL TO US JUST HOW FAR THEY ARE WILLING TO GO. IN THE FIRST PLACE, THEY BELIEVE THAT ALL INFORMATION GIVEN TO US, NO MATTER HOW CLOSELY HELD, IS LEAKED TO THE GREEKS. AMBASSADOR CRAWFORD'S CONVERSATION WITH CHRISTOPHIDES REPORTED IN REF C IS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THIS PROBLEM. CHRISTOPHIDES APPARENTLY HAD IN HIS POSSESSION LEAKED MATERIAL. IN SHORT, WHEN THE TURKS BELIEVE THAT THEIR PLANS OR NEGOTIATING POSITIONS ARE NOT SECURE WITH US, THEY MAY WELL BE RIGHT. SECONDLY, HOWEVER, THEY ALSO SEE US AS PART OF THE NEGOTIATION, AND THEY SEE OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE NEGOTIATION AS BEING PRIMARILY DESIGNED TO PRESSURE THEM INTO BEING "REASONABLE"

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SO THAT WE CAN APPEASE CONGRESSIONAL CRITICS AND CAN GET THE DCA PASSED. THIS THEN IS THEIR DILEMMA. THEY WANT TO HELP THIS ADMINISTRATION GET THE DCA PASSED, AND THEY UNDERSTAND THAT THEY MUST BE FORTHCOMING ON CYPRUS TO DO SO, BUT THEY DO NOT SEE US AS TRUE COLLABORATORS. THEIR EXPERIENCE WITH US, AS IN, FOR EXAMPLE, THE MISSING PERSONS ISSUE, IS THAT OUR PRIMARY OBJECTIVE IS TO FORCE THEM TO MOVE AS FAR AS POSSIBLE. THEY BELIEVE THEY MUST RESIST THAT PRESSURE. THEY DO NOT BELIEVE THAT WE PUT SIMILAR PRESSURE ON THE GREEKS, ALTHOUGH I HAVE TRIED TO ASSURE THEM ON THAT POINT. (I HAVE ALSO TRIED TO POINT OUT THAT IF THEY ARE "REASONABLE", AND THE GREEKS DO NOT RESPOND, THE POINT WILL NOT BE LOST ON THE CONGRESS.) THE LONG AND SHORT OF IT IS THAT IT IS AS UNLIKELY THAT THEY WILL GIVE US IN ADVANCE THEIR FINAL POSITION ON THE CONSTITUTION AS THAT THEY WOULD GIVE IT TO THE GREEKS. WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO GET THEM TO FLESH OUT FURTHER THEIR PROPOSALS AND TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE OBJECTIONS RAISED IN THE BRUSSELS MEETINGS. IN THE END, HOWEVER, THE HARD QUESTIONS, E.G., HOW DECISIONS ARE MADE WHEN THE INTERESTS OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES ARE OPPOSED, HOW "FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT"

AND PROPERTY COMPENSATION ARE TO BE HANDLED,
CAN ONLY COME OUT OF A FINAL NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

3. WHAT I CAN GIVE YOU RIGHT NOW IS OUR OWN CONVICTION
THAT A MOMENTUM IS RUNNING HERE IN FAVOR OF A SOLUTION
ON CYPRUS AND THAT THERE IS THE BEGINNING OF PUBLIC
ACCEPTANCE THAT SIGNIFICANT RETURN OF TERRITORY OT
THE GREEKS IS INVOLVED. ON THE CONSTITUTION, THERE WILL
HAVE TO BE AVISIBLE MECHANISM FOR PROTECTING THE TURKISH
COMMUNITY FROM THE DOMINANCE OF THE GREEK MAJORITY.
PERHAPS THE MOST USEFUL THING THAT COULD BE SURFACED AT
THE MOMENT WOULD BE ANY GREEK IDEAS ON HOW THIS COULD
BE ACCOMPLISHED.

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UNQUOTE VANCE".

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